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THE Fatherland

(Title Reg. U. S. Pat. Off.)

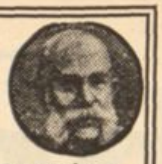
A Weekly

This is a magazine for Hyphenated-Americans

THE MENACE OF THE $500,000,000 LOAN

By PROFESSOR JOHN W. BURGESS

WAR PACKAGE
for Germany and Austria-Hungary



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Vol. III. No. 10

The Fatherland

FAIR PLAY *for* GERMANY *and* AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

Edited by George Sylvester Viereck · New York, October 13, 1915

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THE TERRIBLE MENACE OF THE $500,000,000 LOAN

THE UNITED STATES IMPERILED BY GIGANTIC PLOT OF THE PRO-ALLY BANKERS

By Professor John W. Burgess

(The foremost authority on International Law in this country. Former Dean of the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University and First Roosevelt Exchange Professor to Germany.)

(This passionate protest from the pen of one of the greatest scholars of the day reflects the indignation of the vast majority of honest-minded Americans. Professor John W. Burgess hits straight from the shoulder and his statements are conspicuously just and unanswerable. Let every man who loves his country read this article with gratitude to Prof. Burgess for his masterly analysis of the great Pro-Ally plot to ruin America.)

WHAT is a "straight credit"? I have asked several bankers for the definition, but have not been able to obtain anything exact or even wholly intelligible. I am in doubt, therefore, whether the phrase expresses a fixed technical concept or is a bit of business slang. I am inclined to think it is the latter.

It is of great importance, however, that we should arrive at a distinct and complete idea of its meaning, since we are told that our National Executive will not object to the huge war loan demanded of us by Great Britain and her allies, provided it be a "straight credit." I do not myself comprehend how a loan can be a "straight credit." . . .

Stripped now of all jugglery, hocus-pocus and hypocrisy, the transaction proposed by the Anglo-Franco borrowing commission to the Government, the capitalists and the people of this country is a loan, a loan without collateral, a war risk, the ultimate payment of which by the borrower will probably depend upon the ability of the Anglo-Franco-Russo combine to crush Germany and Austria-Hungary, kill the resisting part of their population, and reduce the rest to poverty and want for all time by the collection of a huge and continuous war indemnity from them; and every man who takes a dollar of this proposed loan makes himself selfishly interested in the success of such a program.

Considers Economic Results on America

My purpose, however, is to speak of this proposed loan from the points of views of its probable sociological and economical effects upon our own country, and I will consider the economic effects first. Were the proposed transaction a straight credit, there would be little economic peril in it. The seller of the product giving the credit would deal directly with the purchaser, would satisfy himself of the solvency of the purchaser, would be under no temptation to sell to him in case of doubtful solvency, and would have no means of shifting the risk of non-payment upon unwilling or unconscious third parties. All the influences of prudent and conservative action would be presented in such a transaction.

Not so, however, is the proposed transaction. In the first place, a bankers' syndicate is necessary for the underwriting of the loan, and never in the history of the world has such a temptation been offered for reckless speculation. The war now in progress in Europe is costing the nations demanding of us this loan of one thousand millions of dollars, according to the latest statements, about one thousand five hundred millions of dollars a month.

The thousand millions which they are now demanding of us will not last them one month. It is, therefore, only the beginning. They will want ten thousand millions within a year, unless German and Austro-Hungarian victories force them to agree to peace.

What now would be the bankers' profits on these huge sums? Who can figure them? Those profits will be paid in gold, at the outset, no matter if the entire debt be repudiated.

Responsibility Put on Other Shoulders

In the second place, these bankers have, through the banking institutions they control and through their influence in, and over, the Federal Reserve Board, the body having the power to create and issue paper currency, the means for shifting the risk of these huge loans upon a vast number of other shoulders, the stockholders and the depositors in the banks and the taxpayers of the country, most of whom would, in case of disaster, first be made conscious of the fact that this burden had been laid upon them by the experience of actual loss.

The underwriting bankers will get their commissions whatever may happen, the munition vendors will get their pay whatever may happen, and the sellers of other products will probably get their pay, but, in case the borrowing nations become bankrupt or repudiate their obligations, the stockholders and depositors in the banks and the taxpayers of the country will have to stand the loss. Now, is bankruptcy or repudiation on the part of the borrowing nations probable?

It seems to me, at least, nearer a probability than a mere possibility. *There is not the slightest evidence in sight that they will crush the Central Empire and make them pay a war indemnity with which to cover this proposed loan, to say nothing of future loans, and there are many ominous signs of social revolution in both Great Britain and Russia.*

Predicts Allies Will Repudiate Debts

As things have looked for some months past, as they look now, and as they look more and more from day to day, the course of future events is more likely to be the continuance of the war until Great Britain, Russia and France are completely bankrupt, then a social revolution in each, through which the lower-middle and lower classes will seize the respective governments and repudiate the vast debts heaped upon the several countries by what the new rulers will term "irresponsible governments usurping unconstitutional powers."

The ultimate result of all this would be the most gigantic and sweeping transfer of the wealth of this country, that is, what might be left of it, from the pockets of the men of small and moderate means into the coffers of the few enormously rich which the history of this or any other country has ever known.

Our economic system would become more completely plutocratic, a vast proletariat would be produced, and a period of business unrest would follow, which would inevitably tend toward economic revolution.

The sociological effects of yielding to this demand for money to carry on this war by Great Britain and her allies will, as it appears to me, be no less perilous to our country. We are a composite people. According to the last census nearly fifteen millions of our people were born in foreign countries, about one million and a quarter in England, Scotland and Wales, nearly a million and a half in Ireland, about the same number in Italy, a million and three-quarters in Russia, nearly as many in Austria-Hungary, over two millions and a half in Germany, over one million and a quarter in Sweden, Norway and Denmark, about as many in Canada, while representatives from most of the countries of the world make up the other million.

Forming Nation Out of a Conglomerate

A rough statement of the ethnological situation in the United States at the present time would give us something like forty millions of English and Anglo-Americans; about thirty millions of Germans and German-Americans, including Scandinavians; about ten millions of Irish and Irish-Americans; something over ten millions of Negroes, and another ten millions of Franco-Americans, Spanish-Americans, Russians, Italians, Greeks, Portuguese, etc.

Out of this conglomerate we are trying to form a nation that is an American people, having their own ideals of rights and policies, their own consensus of opinion.

Now, when the nations, or a number of the most important ones, from which these elements of our population come, go to war with each other, it places this country in a very peculiar and perilous position, from the point of view of the national unity of its population and the national consensus of opinion.

The sentiments of these different ethnical elements, some of whom almost form groups, become naturally enlisted upon the side of the country from which they have, immediately or remotely, sprung, and only the strictest neutrality, both in spirit and letter, can then prevent the tendency toward the disintegration of our population into its original elements, in opinion and feeling, from setting in.

Such a denationalization of our population would be extremely perilous to our domestic peace and prosperity, and it should be the primest element of our policy, both internal and international, to forestall it by following a line of conduct which will not be felt by any of the great components of our population to be one-sided and partial.

It may be argued by lawyers that furnishing munitions of war or a loan of money by a neutral, or the citizens of a neutral nation, to one belligerent party and not to the other under certain conditions is not unneutral, but, no matter what reason may be given for that, the sympathizers with the other belligerent party will almost unanimously feel that it is a violation of the spirit of neutrality, and most of them that it is also a violation of the letter of neutrality.

On the other hand, NOT furnishing munitions of war or NOT loaning money to either belligerent party cannot be felt by any class of our citizens to be unneutral.

Certainly if there be two courses of action, both of which are neutral, according to the strict letter of the law, one of which, however, is regarded as unneutral in spirit and purpose by a vast number of our citizens, while the other cannot be, it is clear that, from the point of view of our own national harmony, peace and prosperity, we should follow the latter course.

A good deal has been made of the argument against prohibiting the export of war munitions, that while it would have been neutral to have done this at the beginning of the war, it might not be to do so during the course of the war, after having permitted it for a time. I think the argument fallacious.

I think the prohibition of such exportations is a regulation of trade and commerce, is wholly a domestic question, and may be imposed by Congress at any time and without regard to anything except our own interests, moral and material.

However this may be, I refer to this argument of pro-British sympathizers only because our State Department did take the position at the beginning of the war that a loan of money was not in accordance with true and genuine neutrality.

Every American knows that the chief trouble with our foreign trade at this time is the arbitrary British Orders in Council, prohibiting in part and restricting in part our lawful commerce with the neutral nations of Europe and with the enemies of Great Britain. It would seem to me, therefore, a far wiser national policy for us if, instead of strengthening the power of Great Britain to impose her restrictions upon our lawful trade and giving her hundreds of millions of our money to wage her war for breaking down all opposition to that power by other countries, we should use those billions for constructing for ourselves a "two-power" navy, which should protect our just rights upon the high seas and within every port and harbor of the world.

OUR PATRIOTIC MUNITIONS AGENTS

IN the eyes of some of the rogues or idiots, who are editorializing in the New York press in the cause of the Allies, it is disloyal to be pro-German because the heaven-ordained administration happens to be pro-English. In the sight of these patriots (imported from England and Scotland), the ammunition agents and manufacturers of arms supplying the Allies, are the truest type of Americans.

The great capitalistic munitions makers, of course, would throw down everything and rush to the aid of the country if war should come; but when the United States sent its fleet to Vera Cruz in April, 1914, to bring Huerta to terms for failing to salute our flag, they were on the side of the enemy. The American sailors who lost their lives in that expedition were actually killed with American ammunition.

Every one remembers the *Ypirango*, a German vessel loaded with arms for Mexico—a trade perfectly legitimate because Germany had not declared her neutrality. *But when the truth was forthcoming, it turned out that the cargo of arms carried by the German ship was manufactured, owned and shipped by Americans.*

This was not all. Even after the American squadron had sailed for Vera Cruz to punish the Mexicans, American arms were being shipped to Mexico, and the Washington *Post* of April 23, 1914, in a report to a cabinet meeting contained the following passage:

"It was declared significant that of this whole amount 8 million rounds of ammunition and 10,000 rifles have gone from the United States into Mexico since the orders were issued last Tuesday for the dispatch of the fleet to Tampico and Vera Cruz. While Rear Admiral Fletcher was preventing the big shipment of German arms and ammunition (sic) to Vera Cruz on Tuesday, the importations were continuing in large consignments into northern territory, principally across the American border. The War Department has been informed that even larger shipments got over yesterday. Still other shipments are being rushed from New York and other points."

Observe that this was done while American ships were on their way to begin a campaign against Mexico. American arms in vast quantity were being shipped across the American border, millions of rounds of ammunition were being rushed to supply the Mexicans with means to kill American sailors. Sixteen of our boys lost their lives in the attack on Vera Cruz. Their bodies were brought to New York and the American people shed tears of sympathy for the brave lads in blue who died for their country. *But the bullets with which they were slain were American bullets, supplied by American ammunition factories, the same concerns which are now sending millions of cartridges and shrapnel and untold tons of picric acid to kill German soldiers, the brothers and cousins of millions of American citizens.*

These are the American patriots who, with Roosevelt, Choate, Root and the rest, are shouting for the triumph of civilization over German barbarism. They sold ammunition to the enemy of the United States only seventeen months ago, and the blood of the slain American sailors is on their heads.

S.

WHY THE MONEY TRUST WANTS WAR

VIII.—RED LIGHTS AHEAD!

By Charles A. Collman

"RED lights ahead!" In this picturesque railroad phrase, grown famous in financial annals, James J. Hill, then chairman of the Great Northern Railroad, predicted the oncoming panic of 1907.

I was reminded of this prediction, made by Mr. Hill, a man whom I greatly admire, as I walked through Wall Street a few days ago. These panics, which the public fears so justly, come for some strange reason upon us every seven or eight years. Panics are not wholly man-made. They are often made unwittingly, through the madness of men.

I remember the panic of '93, when I had just "struck" New York City from Ohio, a poor lad. And another one came later, in 1901, made solely by Wall Street gamblers. Six years later came the "rich man's panic."

What reminded me of "Jim" Hill's fine phrase as I strolled through Wall Street this late September day? There was much to contemplate. To the left hand, at the corner of Broad and Wall Streets, topping the new white structure of the House of English Morgan, a great steel screen had been placed above the court that opens on the glass roof covering the ground floor of his banking house. A cordon of armed detectives was stationed about his office doors.

From the right hand there came to me the subdued uproar of shouting, shrieking voices—voices of maddened brokers on the guarded floor of the New York Stock Exchange, also still topped with a steel wire screen. And at the entrance of the Exchange, the greatest money market of our country, there still hung the sign "Gallery Closed for Repairs." Wall Street brokers still refuse the public admittance to the scene of their operation.

And I felt downcast and depressed as I thought back on those long-gone years when I had come to this city, a poor boy from Ohio. How the days had changed! Then there was public spirit and free thought. Newspapers like the *World* and *Sun* would have had electrifying stories of the fear in which Morgan and his creatures dwelt, of the manner in which they had screened themselves from public vengeance. And our country would not have been unwarned.

But to-day the word of a powerful English banker is sufficient to still the columns of newspapers, which in the past thought it their best endeavor to strive for the public good.

"Red lights ahead!" Races become decadent through corruption—yes, those races that we love the best. When we were boys we all read Plutarch, and loved him for the knowledge of human nature he displayed. You remember old Timon of Athens, and the words he spoke to Alcibiades, when he saw him driving his countrymen to madness? "Go on, my brave boy, and prosper, for your prosperity will bring ruin on all this crowd!"

And I thought of Young Morgan and his English banking friends of Wall Street. Here are bankers, mad with race hatred, throwing all conservatism and caution to the winds. They try to fling away the public's billion, as though it were so much chaff. It is hard to earn a billion dollars. No man has ever done so. The slender savings of the people, always hard earned, are a mere bauble in the hands of thoughtless bankers.

Read the columns of Ochs, the tool of the Money Trust, and he will blabbingly tell you of the "millionaires made by war stocks."

Yes, there are men in Wall Street who have made millions in war stocks. They are making them by juggling the money of the people, which blind confidence and honest faith had entrusted to their care. Then comes the great Day of Reckoning—as it came in '93, in 1901, in 1907. And then who has won out? Then men who do not care for panic days—the men of Wall Street. They will lean back and laugh at you then, glutted with their millions, and you and I shall have to pay their bills.

Warning Voices Ignored

"Red lights ahead!" Back in those days the voices of warning were ignored. They were spoken by Hill and Jacob Schiff. But in 1906-07 there were the same conditions that prevail to-day. The mad market, the million-share days. The inflation, the banks loaning the people's money on mushroom stocks, while happy brokers laughed and made their coin. The same conditions prevail to-day—the clerks working overtime in the gambling houses of Wall Street, sleeping on improvised cots, working day and night, in the fever and furor, trying to keep track of the accounts of the poor dupes who are mislead by the intoxicating songs of corrupt newspapers of "fortunes made in stocks."

The Day of Reckoning is as sure as the tides and the floods and the setting of the moon. It is the world old story of human credulity, of human faith in the lying tongues of scheming men.

"Red lights ahead!" It is now October, in the year 1915. Clip out this story and file it away for the future day—the great Day of Reckoning, when men must pay for the sins of others, when factories will close their gates, and the store and the warehouse will ring to empty footfalls. And far away, in Europe, perhaps, you may see the faces of mocking English bankers, the expatriates of the Money Trust, who have coined their swag and made their homes abroad, and who now laugh at their foolish dupes, whom they hoodwinked with false tales and lying profits, living lives of ease on stolen money.

The Wall Street-owned newspapers, with their powerful and unscrupulous news syndicates, which ferret out the ignorant and unsuspecting in every hamlet in the land, are regaling the public to-day with their stories, "Wall Street is a street of gold," "millionaires are being made daily," "there are fortunes to be made in war stocks."

Poor, foolish human frailty! Will that day ever come when men will listen to those who wish them well? When the honest and unsuspecting will no longer heed the voices of plutocratic tempters?

"Wall Street is paved with gold!" And the poor fellow, workless and worrying, who walks the streets, is tempted to take his money from the savings bank and put it in war stocks.

If there are those who are willing to listen, let them pay heed to this. Do you know that only a week ago the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad went into a receiver's hands? The Missouri Pacific is bankrupt. What has become of the Rock Island? Have you seen the dreadful loss in the earnings of the Union Pacific?

Those are our great properties on which our fortunes and our wealth depend. In those roads, the arteries of the business life of the country, the money of the savings banks is invested. Are they prospering? No.

Who prospers? The munitions makers? Perhaps. But from what source do their profits come? From France, from England, from Russia? From countries devastated by the greatest war in history? No, England, Russia, France are not sending gold to our country to enrich the munitions makers. Those English bankers of Wall Street have paid themselves for the debts the bankrupt countries of Europe owe by taking the millions of savings of the American people, which are deposited in savings banks, in life and fire insurance companies, and these men, who love foreigners better than their own countrymen, have placed in these companies the notes of their bankrupt friends, whom they toasted and flattered in New York at their Pilgrim dinners and their bankers' feasts, at which they drank the healths of King George of England, the Russian Czar, the King of Italy and the assassin rulers of Servia.

But business is bad in the United States. We all know that.

The Money Trust newspapers of Wall Street, drunk with the advertising profits that now fill their columns, do not tell you such facts as these. The *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, of September 25th, says: "England has huge resources to draw upon, no matter what may happen, and she has never in her entire history undertaken to place one of her Government loans in a foreign country. Even if we take an extreme view of the case and *contemplate the possibility of partial insolvency as the result of the putting out of huge additional masses of debt* with the continuation of the war, it is inconceivable that this $500,000,000 or $600,000,000 foreign loan will ever be in danger."

The Bankrupt's Toll

This is the still and silent voice of a financial organ, which few will read. It does not say that England has had to pay the bankrupt's toll of six per cent. for her money by placing a first mortgage on the Empire. It does not call attention to the fact that her premier security, Consols, is selling at a "minimum" price of 65. This minimum means that the British Government dares not let a free market prevail in her chief security, that if the minimum price were removed, it would drop to a panic figure. The figure is easily calculated. Consols bear interest at 2½ per cent. The British loan forced upon the American people by the publicity campaign of the Morgan group pays five per cent., but sells at 96¼. Then a security paying one-half that interest is worth only one-half the price—or 48⅛. That figure is the price of British Consols to-day—no, it is not the price, for the loan imposed upon America is a first mortgage upon the taxing power of the British Empire, and Consols take the rank of a second mortgage, and can be worth only 40 or thereabouts.

I shall quote a warning issued at the Investment Bankers' Association of America, at Denver last week, which your Money Trust newspaper did not dare to print and which was uttered by Mr. A. B. Leach, the President of the Association, who said: "Gentlemen, I have presented three pictures, which perhaps have a somewhat gloomy atmosphere, three pictures which bespeak possible disaster even.

"As investment bankers we face the problem that the capital, which has been expended for the development of this country, derived in the past from Europe, will not be available.

"I have heard it prophesied by the very wise that at the end of the war we would face a financial catastrophe, that wreckage and repudiation would be worldwide."

"The capital which has been expended for the development of this country, derived in the past from Europe, will not be available." And at the siren voice of Morgan, the credulous American people have been tempted to give of their own capital $500,000,000 to France, England and Russia, to the accompaniment of the enthusiastic cheers of English bankers.

And thus, while Wall Street bankers throw away one-half billion of the people's money, what is being done with the reserves of Wall Street banks?

Let us see.

In the chart that is given below, we can clearly see what game the conscienceless houses of Wall Street are perpetrating. In the last seven weeks, ended with October 2nd, in only twenty of the war stocks, and there are perhaps as many more, thirteen million five hundred and eleven thousand shares were traded in, and in this gamble, solely in these twenty stocks, remember, the brokers, their victims and the bankers manipulated the immense sum of one billion three hundred and sixty-six million eight hundred and thirty-five thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven dollars.

What a dreadful situation here presents itself. On the one hand, the Morgan group helps itself to a half billion of the people's money, to repay itself for the munitions sold to the bankrupt Allies. On the other hand, great railroad systems go thundering down into bankruptcy, imperilling the resources of the country, while not a hand is raised to help them. And now the Wall Street bankers further use the funds of the public to lend one billion one hundred millions to the war stock gamblers on twenty inflated war stocks in seven weeks.

These are termed "call" loans. They must be met and paid on demand. WHAT WILL HAPPEN IN WALL STREET WHEN THE CALL LOANS ARE CALLED?

Two months ago THE FATHERLAND called attention to the fact that the members of the Stock Exchange were working in guilty fear, hidden from the public eye. At that time the officials of the Exchange explained in the Wall Street organ, the *Times*, that the gallery was being "repaired," and that the steel screen had been placed above the building because of the fear of falling bricks. Must not Mr. Noble feel very silly to-day at his attempted deception of the public? Now, after the lapse of months, the gallery is still closed to the public, and the steel wire covering has been adopted across the way, on the roof of Morgan's building.

WHAT THE WAR STOCK GAMBLERS ARE DOING!

WALL STREET BANKS, IN SEVEN WEEKS, HAVE LOANED THE WAR STOCK GAMBLERS ONE BILLION, ONE HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS, OR 80% OF THE INFLATED VALUES.

Twenty War Stocks	No. of shares traded in in seven weeks, ended Oct. 2:	Money wasted in war stocks gamble. Value based on maximum price, week ended Oct. 2.
American Agricultural Chemical	64,225	$4,624,200
American Can	1,286,900	85,575,850
American Car & Foundry	522,810	49,666,950
American Coal Products	61,980	10,567,590
American Locomotive	480,720	34,971,875
American Steel Foundry	172,337	11,201,905
Baldwin Locomotive	804,550	120,783,068
Bethlehem Steel	65,710	24,641,250
Crucible Steel	1,324,630	145,700,000
Distillers' Securities	181,920	6,321,620
General Electric	149,597	26,698,364
General Motors	63,795	23,922,125
Lackawanna Steel	340,330	32,246,267
Maxwell Motors	219,930	12,753,940
New York Air Brake	215,982	35,583,034
Pressed Steel Car	333,845	25,372,220
Railway Steel Spring	170,310	9,196,740
Sloss Sheffield	61,160	3,975,400
United States Steel	4,651,369	376,760,889
Westinghouse	2,338,900	326,272,550
Total Shares,	13,511,000	Inflated Values, $1,366,835,837

Who Are Responsible For This?
Two Men, Who Work Under The Shelter Of Great Steel Wire Screens.
J. Pierpont Morgan, England's War Agent.
President Noble, of the New York Stock Exchange.

Mr. Noble and his friends, hiding and working in guilty fear, are too drunk with the war stock gamble to heed the kindly meant warning. They have since even added to their list other war stocks, and added to the financial danger.

It is essential then that the public take heed of its savings and see that they are not secretly invested in guilty stocks and the blood-stained war bonds of the Money Trust.

The Aachen & Munich Fire Insurance Co.

We have received the following letter from the Aachen & Munich Fire Insurance Company:

"In the issue of THE FATHERLAND, dated the 29th inst., an article appears in which the name of our company is quoted in a manner which might suggest to some readers that the Aachen & Munich Fire Insurance Company would buy the bonds of some of the countries involved in the European war.

"In order that there may be no misunderstanding on this point we would greatly appreciate your mentioning the fact in your paper that the securities owned by this company in the United States consist exclusively of United States Government, State, Municipal and Railroad bonds, and any further investment which may be made in the interest of the Aachen & Munich Fire Insurance Company will be limited to bonds of the same character.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) J. A. KELSEY,
Manager."

The Penn Mutual Life Insurance Company

Similarly THE FATHERLAND receives the following communication from the Penn Mutual Life Insurance Company:

"I notice in the issue of your paper of September 29th that you publish, on page 128, an inference that the Penn Mutual Life Insurance Company is connected with or will invest in the war loan securities about to be issued. I beg to state that this company carries no money in foreign securities. It is prohibited from owning them. Its life insurance business and its investment field (all its operations) are confined to a territory within the borders of the United States. I think this will assure you and your readers that the funds of our company are carefully guarded.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) GEO. K. JOHNSON,
President."

It is a pleasure to THE FATHERLAND to publish these frank letters. Undoubtedly the public will also appreciate the fact that the investments of the Aachen & Munich and the Penn Mutual Life are not to be risked in foreign loans. In the same article the names of other fire and life insurance companies were mentioned, whose directors or officials had attended the conference at the Morgan Library in the interest of the Anglo-French war loan. And still even more significant was the fact that this private conference was attended by officers of great public savings banks, such as the Union Dime, the Greenwich Savings Bank and the Bowery Savings Bank. Such institutions are restricted by law as to their investments, but many of them keep surplus funds on deposit in other banking institutions, which use them as they wish. The German Savings Bank came out the other day and announced that it would withdraw such deposits from other institutions unless it received assurances that such funds would not be used in the hazards of the Anglo-French loan of Morgan's.

This announcement was highly appreciated by the bank's depositors. Is it not of deep moment to the depositors in the Greenwich, the Bowery and the Union Dime to receive similar assurances that their money will not be employed contrary to law in hazardous loans? Failing to receive such assurances, it is to the interest of such depositors to place their savings in institutions like the German Savings Bank, which give promise of safety for their funds. Similarly, policy-holders of fire and life insurance companies should be heedful to deal only with companies such as the Aachen & Munich and the Penn Mutual Life, that give similar assurance.

Bankers of German Blood

It has been a matter of extreme regret to persons who opposed the hazardous Morgan loan to the Allies, that in the announcement made by the Morgans, there should have been included as underwriters, certain banking houses, the members of which are of German origin, such as Heidelbach, Ickelheimer & Co., Hallgarten & Co., Ladenburg, Thalmann & Co., and J. & W. Seligman. Such bankers should have recalled the statement issued by Mr. Jacob H. Schiff, explaining why Kuhn, Loeb & Co. could not participate in the loan, namely, that assurances would not be given by the Morgans that the funds thus used would not be in part handed over to the Russians. Certainly, patriotic Americans would not share in such a loan in the interest of a race that perpetrated the pogroms of Kishinef and Gomel, and so outraged the feelings of this country that it ended its commercial treaty with the Romanoff brutes. How far more, then, must men of German blood feel toward the Russian race responsible for the foul crimes committed by barbarous Cossacks in East Prussia.

But it was thought that there was still another reason why bankers of German origin would not share in the loan. Such bankers must remember that, about six short months ago, the English Government announced officially that any Englishman would be found guilty of treason *if he traded with a foreign banking house that had a German partner.* This was done to ruin German bankers. But the effect was opposite. England found herself ruined, and had to come to the German bankers, hat in hand, begging them to lend her money at six per cent., giving as security a first mortgage on the British Empire. Bankers of German origin, who shared in the Morgan loan, must have shorter memories than other men of German blood.

THE GERMAN WILL TO WIN

By Dr. Edmund von Mach, Author of "What Germany Wants" and "Germany's Point of View"

ONE of the high officials of the American National Highway Association had the following experience in London shortly after the outbreak of the war in August, 1914. Asking a young, healthy laborer why he had not enlisted, he was told that there was no fun in being killed for the Belgians. "Let them fight their own blooming battles." "But," the American replied, "if the Belgians are beaten, possibly Kaiser William will cross over here and drive your King George away; what then?"

"Ah, well!" was the rejoinder, "I don't care. I could not be worse off under William than I am under George."

Since then a change of heart has come over many Britishers, according to the papers. Their fighting blood has been aroused, their chivalry has been appealed to, and many hundred thousands of them are said to have enlisted. Of the common people, who have entered the army, however, not one has done so because he was so well satisfied with his conditions that he wished to defend them against all odds.

Whatever the right or wrong of this war may be, one thing stands out in glaring relief—the respective attitudes of the common people of England and Germany. Downtrodden through generations in the former country until the pride of nationality has been crushed out of them; paid only enough to eke out a wretched existence, with no hope of a brighter future, the English laboring men and women have sunk to as low a level as the inherent worth of their Anglo-Saxon character permitted.

The British Government, representing not them but the wealthy classes, has thrown them bribes only in sufficient quantities to keep them from revolting, and even the much-heralded Lloyd George pensions do not aim at improving their conditions, but at keeping them from realizing too forcefully their wretched existence.

Attention has been called more than once to the fact that dock laborers, for instance, were paid by the hour in Liverpool, by the day in Antwerp, and by the week in Hamburg!

In Germany the laboring men as a whole are well satisfied. Nobody, to be sure, is ever entirely pleased with his lot, and in Germany, too, higher wages and a greater and more immediate control over working conditions were demanded. But it may be said, without fear of contradiction, that in no country—the United States not excepted—is labor so fortunately placed as in Germany. The wages are fair, allowing the invested capital and higher intelligence not

more than their due share; the cost of the necessities of life are regulated to be within the laborers' means; his employment is practically secure. If he is sick he receives an allowance, not as charity but as his due, and is not obliged to see his savings disappear. When he grows old or incapacitated he is placed on the list of pensioners, like American judges, policemen or military men. When he dies his widow and minor children are taken care of. In short, all the worries of the future, which spoil a man's best years or drive him to seek oblivion in dissipation, are kept from the German laborer. Nor is he ever degraded to the level of a state ward. He knows that he is an integral cog of the German machinery. He is relieved of worries for the future for himself and his family, but it is he himself and his brethren whose work makes these contributions possible.

The German laborer is not illiterate; on the contrary, he reads a good deal, and knows that in no country the laboring men are so well off as in Germany. His American brethren may receive larger salaries in some instances, but of what use is a larger check, if rent is infinitely higher and poorer here than in Germany, and if corners in wheat, meat and the other necessities make the expenses of living excessively high?

The German laborer has often inveighed against the large expenditures for the army, but he knows that every penny has been honestly spent, and what is fully as satisfactory has been collected from the higher taxes to which the richer people have had to submit.

All this has given the German laborer a pride in his race which accounts for his intense and quiet patriotism in the present crisis.

Visitors returning from England and Germany have enlarged on the blatant sentimentalism of England displayed everywhere in the endeavor to kindle the spark of patriotism in the English, and the almost diffident fervor of the love of their country which makes the Germans shrink from any kind of display.

What do the masses think in England? "Ah, well, if Germany wins, we cannot be any worse off than we are now!"

What do the masses think in Germany? "If we lose, and the Allies are permitted to wreak their vengeance on us as they have threatened, we shall have to sink at best to the level of the English working conditions, if not to that of the semi-serfdom still existing in Russia."

This is the explanation of the fact that seven nations banded together for the destruction of the central European powers have been unable to prevail thus far; this is the reason why Germany possesses to-day, as on the first day of the war, the will to win.

Asquith and Delcassé and Edward Grey and Nicholas Nicholaiwicz also possess the will to win. But the hundreds of millions of people whom they have driven into this war do not possess it.

The German organization and the German military staff may be superior to the English, or French, or Russian staffs and organizations, but this war of nations will not be won by generals and munitions, but by the people themselves.

For Grey and Delcassé and Nicholas it may be a question of win or die. For the English, Russian and French people this is not the case. For the German masses, however, the problem is either victory or loss of everything they prize highest. Defeat would spell poverty, and the enforced abandonment of the whole blessed institution of social welfare.

The will to win, therefore, exists nowhere so inevitably as in Germany. It has given the people a strength which is unlike anything in the history of mankind.

German militarism, preparedness, autocracy, Prussian organization, or whatever excuse the Allies have advanced or in the future may advance for their inability to crush countries which they excel at the ratio of more than thirty to one are all myths. The one true secret is the indomitable will of the people themselves, not their leaders, not the small aristocratic circles, university professors, bankers and other rich men, but the people, the seventy millions of German people!

This is one of the grandest spectacles of all times. What a pity that a pro-Allies press is endeavoring to obscure it. There is something divine in this German will to win, something prophetic. It is based on social justice.

Sympathizers with Germany confidently expect her to win, but whether she wins or loses, the star of social justice will not again disappear from the horizon of the world; for every day of Germany's wonderful resistance adds to its lustre until it cannot again be dimmed.

THE REASON FOR *THE FATHERLAND* COVER

A CERTAIN well-known magazine is advertising extensively this startling fact: "The . . . is not a magazine for hyphenated Americans." Inasmuch as fully ninety per cent. of the American people are "hyphenated" THE FATHERLAND *is quite willing to be the spokesman for so impressive a majority.*

ENGLAND GRABBING OUR TRADE

ENGLAND has conscientiously endeavored to carry out the fixed policy of generations, operative in all her wars for conquest, to let other nations do the fighting for her while she attends strictly to the business of exploiting the situation for her own ends. War has heretofore invariably spelled increased prosperity for the old mistress of the seas, and when Sir Edward Grey lightly entered the war and assured the German Ambassador that he could ultimately be of more service to Germany as a combatant than as a neutral, he expected to dispose of the whole matter of England's responsibility by the dispatch of "an expeditionary corps" of 150,000 hired Tommies and a spectacular naval battle in which the entire German fleet would be destroyed.

It didn't "pan out" the way Sir Edward calculated, but England continues to do business at the old stand. Even while France is slowly bleeding to death and Russia is in her last gasps, while Servia is ruined and hundreds of thousands of unwilling Gurkhas, Australians, Zulus and Canadians are lying dead and maimed on the battlefields of Europe and Turkey, the English merchants are doing business as usual. While our industries are being converted into munition plants, England's factories continue to turn out goods as usual for the markets of the world; while we are lending her billions of our money to enable English business men to extend their trade monopoly, she keeps our trade from competing with hers and continues to keep cotton on the list of contraband.

This from the *Washington Post* of recent date ought to open the eyes of those pro-British sympathizers who have not entirely lost their capacity for thought:

> United States Consul General Robert P. Skinner, stationed at London, has directed the attention of President Wilson to the fact, already known to New York merchants, that Britain, while harassing American commerce with neutral countries, is herself pushing her own trade with those very neutrals to the limit.
>
> "It continues to be the case," he writes, "that many classes of goods, the exportation of which from the United States to neutral countries is attended with great difficulties and hazards, are going forward freely from Great Britain to the same countries, and, in some cases, in largely increased quantities."
>
> He gives figures from the British custom houses to prove that what he says is true. He says, for example, that the exports of cotton from England in 1915, up to August 5, were 445,843 bales, as against 271,989 bales in the same period in 1914, and 315,757 bales in a like time in 1913.
>
> Of the 445,843 bales which Britain has sold this year, 220,847 bales, or about one-half, was American cotton, as against 106,382 bales of American cotton in the same months last year, and 158,832 bales in a like time in 1913.
>
> Of the raw cotton, 235,918 centals went in July (the only month for which Mr. Skinner gives the data) to Russia, 27,879 centals to Sweden and 54,509 centals to the Netherlands.

In the same month Britain sent to France 3,223,800 pounds of cotton yarn, 11,055,000 yards of cotton piece goods, unbleached; 1,682,500 pieces of cotton goods, bleached; 506,600 yards of cotton piece goods, dyed or made of dyed yarn.'

Vast quantities of cotton piece goods were sent to Sweden, Russia, Norway, Denmark and the Netherlands. There are no figures to show how much of the American raw cotton sold by England to the neutrals is cotton that actually had been seized by England on the way to neutrals—seized under the pretense that it was intended for German use.

The customs returns of Sweden, Norway, Denmark and the Netherlands, recently published, all show a smaller volume of imports from America since the war than before, notwithstanding the British plea that they have swollen their imports to aid the Teutons.

This from an American consul who is on the spot. But who cares? While we fall prostrate on our stomachs at the feet of the "great financiers of England" as they set foot on American soil, President Wilson beckons the cotton planters to stand in the corner and keep still.

THE UNITED STATES AND GERMANY

(Editorial, *New York Sun*, April 16, 1906)

A PROFOUND impression seems to have been produced in Germany by the speech made by Mr. Roosevelt the other day to German veterans in Washington, the speech in the course of which he recognized the sincere love of peace attested by the German Emperor through his representatives at the Morocco Conference. There is no doubt that the President's cordial and laudatory words reflected the feeling of the great body of his countrymen, which has undergone a signal change since events have indicated that there is no reason to impute schemes of aggression and conquest to the German sovereign. . . .

If we look impartially at the matter, we must acknowledge that there is nothing unreasonable in the longing to acquire here and there a naval station on the part of Germany, which, next to Great Britain, has more foreign commerce and a larger merchant navy than any other power on earth. It may well seem hard to Germans that while France and England have territories on the American continent, and command many points of strategic importance in the West Indies, they cannot be permitted to buy even Curaçoa from Holland or St. Thomas from Denmark. It may well seem hard that while England stands on guard at Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus and Alexandria, and while France is firmly planted on both sides of the Mediterranean, the Germans, merely because they are late comers, cannot be allowed to secure a harbor on the coast of Morocco or an island in the Ægean. It is hard; and for that very reason justice and equity caused many an American to feel respect and admiration for the forebearance and self-restraint with which the Emperor William submitted to the adverse verdict rendered by a majority of the powers assembled at Algeciras. Then and there he exemplified the self-conquest which, as we are told, more exalteth a man than the taking of a city.

IS "THE FATHERLAND" IN YOUR LIBRARY?

THE fight for free speech in Passaic, N. J., has been won. The trustees of the Passaic Public Library have voted unanimously to reinstate THE FATHERLAND in the reading room. This action is due to the vigilance and energy of those real Americans who in every community can be depended upon to stand for fair play and truth. It will be remembered that the trustees of the Passaic Public Library passed a resolution somewhat general in tone but the object of which was to bar THE FATHERLAND from the Public Library of a city whose population is over 60,000. The tremendous indignation that swept over Passaic when the news leaked out startled the trustees. Public meetings were held; appointed committees protested before the city commissioners and the mayor, and the local press took up the cudgels in behalf of free speech. The result was easily foreseen. When the people really want anything they get it.

In almost every town in this country there is a library. There is one in your town. *Do they keep* THE FATHERLAND *in the reading room of your library?* If they do not ask them why. Compel the authorities to place it alongside the pro-Ally papers. See to it that your side is represented. In a republic open discussion of any subject means progress and enlightenment. THE FATHERLAND *is one of the few American publications in this country. It is your duty to see that as many people as possible read it.*

"THE FATHERLAND'S" FINANCIAL FORUM

Any reader wishing advice or information regarding his securities or prospective investments, address Financial Editor FATHERLAND, 1123 Broadway, New York. All inquiries confidential. All advice free.

PROBABLY at no time in this country's history has there been a period such as at present, so filled with dangers and uncertainties to those having money to invest or safeguard, or securities whose future value is problematical. This is not to be wondered at when we see leading financiers in Wall street departing from their traditionally conservative ways, to go recklessly into extensive, unsecured foreign loans, while they are carried away with race hatred and blinded to consequences.

The last year in Wall street has been a wild one and filled with turmoil. There is hope for the future, however. THE FATHERLAND has received private assurances that both State and Federal action may be taken against the New York Stock Exchange, embodying measures such as incorporation and other correctional methods, which will prevent in the future such scandalous doings as the gamble in war stocks. Only last week, International Nickel was taken from the Curb market and placed on the Big Board, thus adding to the number of these dangerous specialties. They are to be avoided by every person who values his savings and his peace of mind.

The dangers of the situation were well emphasized by the instance of one of the most prominent clergymen in the country, who is financially embarrassed to the extent of nearly a quarter of a million of dollars, lost in a timber speculation. This shows the peril besetting men who enter upon such speculative investments without knowledge or guidance.

The safety of capital is the main desideratum in these days, and in the purchase of bonds the safety of the collateral is the prime essential. In European war bonds there are great opportunities for making money, it is true, but only in the securities of those nations which have won signal success in the war by obtaining new territory, and whose securities command good

(*Continued on page* 178)

THE FATHERLAND

Fair Play for Germany and Austria-Hungary

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 13, 1915

RECALL VAN DYKE AND PAGE

THE American Consul General at Munich, T. St. John Gaffney, is to be recalled by order of the State Department and the President, not on any ground of unfitness or lack of ability—for he has been in the consular service since 1905—but because he is an Irish-American who has been accused of being friendly to Germany. And, worse offense, his daughter is married to an officer in the German army.

On the mere complaint of certain Anglophiles who want Mr. Gaffney removed, the administration hastens to do their bidding, because no one who can be remotely suspected of being friendly toward Germany can hold an office under the Wilson administration.

If any one desires to put the matter to the test we will furnish him the name and address of two men in the service of the government who are out and out against Germany, and have made utterances and committed acts that have aroused the indignation of thousands of American citizens. One is Henry Van Dyke, the poet-diplomat, who represents us at the Hague. The other is Walter E. Page who represents us at the Court of St. James.

Van Dyke is a notorious German baiter. In his anxiety to serve the interests of King George he not only countenances, but actually participated in, securing the arrest of Archibald. *He raised no protest when Archibald, an American citizen of native birth, was seized on a neutral vessel and deprived of his belongings.* Not only did Van Dyke fail to protect him, but he canceled his American citizenship pass and sent him a prisoner to the United States for carrying a sealed message from Ambassador Dumba.

Lest any one think that Mr. Van Dyke is really a neutral official, we will quote the testimony of an American lady, Jouet Jeffries, which we find in her book, "War Diary of an American Woman." She writes (page 159):

> The *Algemein Handelsblad* urges this through its press (peace overtures), stating a like opportunity may not easily occur as the present, which refers to the departure of the American Minister at the Hague for a vacation at Washington, believing his presence there a fortunate occasion to bring Holland and America together in a united plan, an armistice plan, a peace plan! That a powerful word could be spoken, is quite true, *if one has the right spokesman,* but the bringer-together of these two powers, the one who is to let loose the dove of peace, must be one whose official neutrality is unquestioned, *sans reproche,* no matter what may be his private convictions and opinions, *which is not the case with the American Minister at the Hague, who is most professedly anti-German, and has this reputation not only in the Hague, but all over Europe.*

Can any one imagine the Wilson administration relieving Van Dyke of his post because he is not neutral? Can any one imagine such a fate befalling Walter E. Page?

The American ambassador has in numerous cases shown that Americans who incautiously confessed their German sympathy in London had nothing to hope for from the American embassy. Miss Ferne Rogers was practically hounded out of London because she had dared to question the truthfulness of the reports that German soldiers were cutting off the feet and hands of Belgian children.

Did Mr. Page afford her the protection of the American government? She was lucky to get out of London without being arrested or mobbed, and certainly did not find any sympathy at the embassy of her country. Mr. Page is too loyally English to waste sympathy on a young American girl so indiscreet as to express an opinion favorable to Germany where she had lived and acted.

Any one may form an idea of Mr. Page's idolatry of everything English from his speech at the unveiling of the Mayflower monument at Southampton, England. He said:

> "The bond between us is a bond of blood. I say with due regard to other bloods and other nations that it *is with us who speak the language of Shakespeare that the responsibility of ruling the world must rest.*"

This remark, which was printed in the London *Daily Express* and the New York *American,* has never been denied. It puts the Irishmen, the German, and all the rest of them in the class of "also-rans." In order to make his meaning still clearer Mr. Page said: "The Pilgrim Fathers were not only God-led men, but they were God-led *Englishmen.*"

Page will continue to hang on to his job unhindered, no matter what his opinions are about the warring nations, so long as they are not friendly to Germany and Austria-Hungary. But Gaffney must go. He actually entertained at dinner Sir Roger Casement. With such facts against him there is no escaping his doom.

FREDERIC F. SCHRADER.

SKINNER WILL HAVE TO GO, TOO

ARE the official days of Robert P. Skinner, the American Consul-General in London, numbered? Will he share the fate of our Consul-General at Munich, T. St. John Gaffney?

Mr. Skinner recently sent to the State Department a report in which he said:

"It continues to be the case that many classes of goods, the exportation of which from the United States to neutral countries is attended with great difficulties and hazards, are going forward freely from Great Britain to the same countries, and in some cases in largely increased quantities."

This indiscretion has rendered Mr. Skinner *persona non grata.* "The British note," says the New York *Times* in its Washington dispatches, "makes it plain that reports from Robert P. Skinner, which have been published in *Commerce Reports,* a daily publication of the Department of Commerce, are regarded unfavorably in London."

That is not the worst of it. In his note to this Government, Sir Edward Grey, the *Times* informs us, "comes very near coupling Consul-General Skinner's reports with statements no doubt inspired by German agents." Grey asks the administration "to invite Ambassador Page's attention to the facts because statements no doubt inspired by German agents are being circulated in America to the effect that His Majesty's Government is trying to stop legitimate trade of the United States with neutral countries in order to capture the trade for the British Empire."

It has been stated that Mr. Gaffney has been, or is to be, relieved of his post at the instigation of the British Government because of his alleged friendly feeling for Germany. Mr. Skinner adds indiscretion to his other offenses. He publishes broadcast what he believes to be the truth, that England is stealing our trade while we are helping her to win the war and confirming her grip on our trade.

Something very like this has been said by Senator Hoke Smith, Senator Lewis of Illinois, ex-Governor Colquitt of Texas, and numerous others, as well as some of the leading newspapers outside of New York.

The Southern cotton planters are firmly convinced of the truth of what Mr. Skinner has stated; the Chicago meat packers know it to be true; the importers who have been in vain protesting to the administration, the rubber manufacturers, etc., know that Mr. Skinner has told the truth. They all fall under the suspicion that their protests are inspired by German agents.

But what is American public sentiment to an administration which is Anglo-Saxon first and American next? Sir Edward Grey has spoken and Consul-General Skinner must go. Ambassador Page may be depended upon to make a report that will satisfy Lansing of the necessity of removing him. Page has said that the Anglo-Saxon must rule the world. No matter that England is taking over our commerce. Sir Edward Grey says it is not true and that Skinner is a German agent. That settles it. The King commands and we obey.

Mr. Skinner will share the fate of Messrs. Raines and Recknagel, who had their passports revoked for expressing sentiments which rendered them obnoxious to England; of the five American army officers who were recalled because they tried to acquaint the administration with the horrors of the Cossack invasion of East Prussia, and of the army officers out West who recently were placed before a court-martial for joining in drinking a toast to the Kaiser at a banquet, although they did not even understand what they were drinking to, because the toast was given in German. Indiscretions like these are not pleasing to England, and are promptly punished by our Anglo-Saxon administration.

Gaffney had to go. Skinner will have to go. And we shall hear no more complaints of British interference with our trade.

ON NEUTRAL SOIL

FOUR hundred Americans affiliated with the ammunitions manufacturers and with the banking houses engaged in loaning half a billion of the people's money to the Allies cheered themselves hoarse when Joseph H. Choate declared in the presence of the Anglo-French Loan Commission that he was not neutral, and proved it by a most intemperate denunciation of the Germans and a most fulsome and foolish eulogy of the British. "Let the Allies tell us what they want and they will get it," he said. And not a man present protested. What would happen if an orator, speaking before such a gathering as Mr. Choate addressed, were to throw neutrality to the winds, declare himself pro-German, and say to his hearers "that Germany only had to tell us what she wanted and we would give it to her"? That man would be hissed and accused of treason. Everybody would suddenly remember the crime of having an opinion. The Department of Justice would look up the statutes and try to discover some obsolete law under which he could be railroaded to jail, or at least frightened into silence. But when a former Ambassador at the English King's Court breaks the President's injunction to preserve the spirit of impartiality, all is well, and the fashionable restaurant rocks with applause.

JOHN BULL—PLEASE LEND ME A BILLION DOLLARS TO HELP ME OUT.

—*The Irish World.*

FOR THE BENEFIT OF OUR READERS

OWING to the many inquiries we are receiving daily from readers of THE FATHERLAND, regarding the safeguarding of their funds and the safety of their investments, in this time of war loans and Wall street mismanagement, THE FATHERLAND has decided to institute a financial department for the guidance of investors. Any reader, soliciting advice, may obtain it free of charge. Our financial review will not be the stereotyped, subservient thing of its kind found in other publications. It will be DIFFERENT and free from any entangling Wall street alliances.

THE VIOLATION OF GREECE

THE Allies have landed troops upon Greek soil. They have invaded the neutral territory of one of the oldest nations of the world. Greece is a little country and has bitterly protested—but in vain. Will the American newspapers protest against this act as they did against the German invasion of Belgium?

WILL THE UNITED STATES GO TO WAR WITH GERMANY?

Read the pamphlet, "THE PROSPECT OF A GERMAN-AMERICAN WAR," by Jeremiah A. O'Leary.

SEND FOR OUR LITERATURE

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THE PERIL OF AMERICAN FINANCE. The pamphlet which startled Wall Street. *Five cents each or $2.50 a hundred.*

A WAY TO TRUE AMERICANISM

You vote as American citizens. You toil as American citizens—*why not fight for true Americanism upon an American platform?* The American Truth Society is going to enter the 1916 campaign. It needs organizers in every congressional district. The fight must be made in the primaries, *not with a new party* but within the old parties. We want writers, orators, organizers and contributions. Write for particulars.

Enroll under the American flag by joining the American Truth Society. Dues, $2.00 a year. American citizens (men or women) only are eligible. Officers: Jeremiah A. O'Leary, President; Frederick F. Schrader, 1st Vice-President; J. Loring Arnold, 2d Vice-President; James F. Quinn, 3d Vice-President; Gustav Dopstaff, Treasurer; George Whitefield Mead, Secretary.

AMERICAN TRUTH SOCIETY
1133 Broadway New York City

NEWS FROM GERMANY

By Louis Viereck
Berlin Correspondent

Pacifism and the World-War

IT is no surprise for the observer of the present world-crisis that the pacifists have either quite shut up or, like the "celebrated" Italian reformers Luzzati, Barzolai, d'Annunzio and their kind, have gone straight over into the camp of the Allies. With the international social democrats also we meet the phenomenon that anti-German elements do not tarry in their Utopia beyond national lines of cleavage, but have simply become practical politicians, rallied splendidly about their national banner and are taking an active part in the war. It is the corroboration of the old truth that things are always stronger than men, at any rate this much is irrefutably established: we are far from an age of eternal peace, we say infinitely far from it, and a new chapter of mighty national wars appears to be just opening up.

If a sober judgment of the condition of the world comes to this conclusion it is almost superfluous to dispute whether there is any reason in terming war the father of all things with Heraclitus the Obscure, or whether one should consider war as the greatest of all disasters with the pacifists. For the most recent experiences have shown us that logical motives have little or no significance in the policies of nations, but rather that these policies are apparently influenced more by the turbulent agitation and impulses of blind passions than by the well-weighed interests of the nation. Anyhow it would be the pessimism of despair to give up hope that the present delirious conditions among the various important nations will be succeeded by a complete or partial restoration in which the claims of common sense must be met. For this reason, however, it is also not untimely to speak of conditions under which war may be excluded for a considerable period and points of view become dominant which are not only the product of

Deutsches Theater
Direktion Rud. Christians
IRVING PLACE, NEW YORK CITY

Jeden Abend 8.15 Uhr
„Das Schloss in Polon"
(Sturm Idyll) Lustspiel in 3 Akten
von Fritz Gruenbaum und Wilhelm Sterck

Samstag d. 9. Oktober
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national aspirations but rather that of a higher development of humanity.

"In the idea of eternal peace," Prof. Oswald Külpe tells us in his recently published brochure under the title "Ethics and War" (printed by S. Huzel, Leipzig) "which might be realized by a system of balance of power among nations, these pacifist ideas and desires have found their expression." Kant has developed the conditions under which eternal peace is possible in a well known and much cited essay, where he tries to harmonize politics and ethics. In accordance with his categorical imperative he asserts that secret articles and treaties between the various nations are a sign of injustice as soon as their purpose has been frustrated by publication. The individual nation is then to act in such a way that the principles of its will are consonant with a general legislative principle and thus it need not fear the publication of these principles. But it is only the concept of such a condition that is developed here and by no means any hope for a full realization of the same. This interpretation is clearly the correct one as we see from other writings of the philosopher. Thus in his principles of law (Rechtslehre) he calls eternal peace an idea impossible of realization, because a universal national assembly would be required for this purpose, the government of which would be impossible while a plurality of such national combines would bring on war again. In an earlier essay Kant declares permanent general peace in Europe to be a mere chimera on account of the so-called equilibrium of the powers in Europe. He compares the idea wittily to a house which was constructed so perfectly in accordance with all the laws of equilibrium by the architect that as soon as a sparrow settled upon it, it collapsed immediately. All that can be expected according to Kant is an approximation to the idea of eternal peace by national combination most suitable to realize this approximation. In a similar manner H. Cohen has also discriminated between the idea and its realization and still designated its realization as our task. Only in so far as this ideal is realized to the limit of the possible by moral humanity, can the idea of eternal peace gain a certain shimmer of reality itself.

The conclusion that we must draw from this demand for eternal peace, at all events, is the realization that war even when just and necessary ought never to be an end in itself but must always be waged in the service of peace. It was reserved to Nietzsche alone in his "Zarathustra" to express the paradoxical doctrine of the value of war as an end in itself. Aside from this exception due to special causes all ethical thinkers agree that war should not be waged as an end in itself, i. e., should not be judged as an ultimate goal and be sought after. Aristotle asserts that the object of war, as has often been said, is peace. According to Spinoza war should only be started for the sake of peace with the

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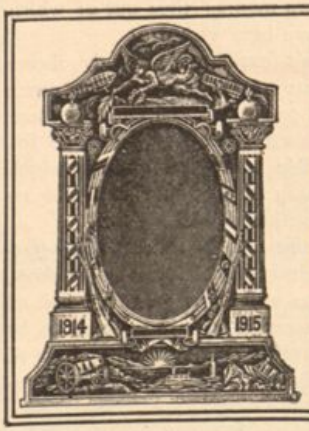

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(*Continued from page* 173.)

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Mr. Liebau is well aware that many organizations at present are collecting funds to alleviate the miseries created by the war. His argument is: "Do one thing but do not omit the other." The "other," in this case, is assuredly as deserving of support as any of the rest. The work carried on by Mr. Liebau is of the utmost importance. If charity is to begin at home, here is a wide field for it.

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Edited by
GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERECK

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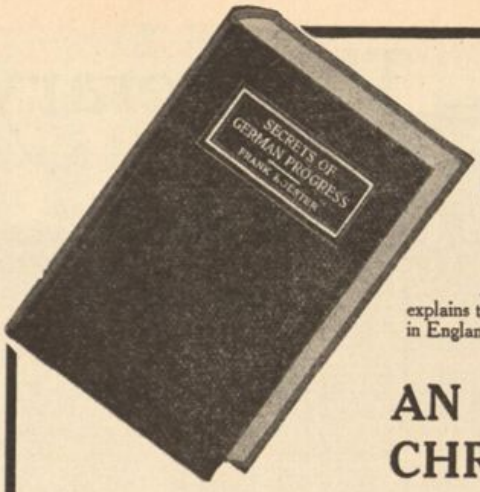

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